

Message Text

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43

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12 TRSE-00

MBFR-03 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 H-02 OIC-04 IO-12 AEC-11

ACDA-19 CU-04 OMB-01 RSR-01 /159 W
----- 116594

P 051205 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6066

INFO PRIORITY

ALL CSCE CAPS 217

USMISSION BERLIN PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USLO SACLANT PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

USDOCOSOUTH PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 1195

MOSCOW FOR KISSINGER PARTY VIENNA FOR KISSINGER PARTY VIENNA FOR
MBFR

DEK

E. O 11652: GDS

TAGS PFROR

SUBJECT: CSCE: MPT HIGHLIGHTS APRIL 30 - MAY 4

SUMMARY: WEEK WAS MARKED BY SOME FORWARD MOVEMENT ON CENTRAL
AND TACTICALLY LINKED PROBLEMS OF PRINCIPLES OF INTERSTATE
RELATIONS (PRIORITY TOPIC FOR SOVIETS) AND FREER MOVEMENT/
HUMAN CONTACTS (TOP PRIORITY FOR MANY NATO ALLIES). HOWEVER,
SHARP DIFFERENCES HAVE SURFACED ON APPROACH TO LATTER ISSUE
AMONG NATO ALLIES, WITH US, DENMARK, NORWAY, FRANCE AND UK
SUPPORTING EARLY COMPROMISE WITH SOVIETS ON KEY ASPECTS OF
THIS TOPIC, WHILE DUTCH AND ITALIANS OPPOSE ANY SUBSTANTIAL
WESTERN CONCESSIONS AT THIS STAGE. SOVIETS, MEANWHILE, ARE
SIGNALLING INCREASED FLEXIBILITY ON MILITARY SECURITY ISSUES.
END SUMMARY.

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1. PRINCIPLES OF INTERSTATE RELATIONS. SWEDISH PAPER
TABLED APRIL 30 EMBODIES COMPROMISES -- GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE
TO US AND TO THE SOVIETS -- ON TWO POLITICALLY SENSITIVE
PROBLEMS: SOURCE OF CSCE PRINCIPLES AND THEIR APPLICABILITY
(ANTI-BREZHNEV DOCTRINE FORMULATION). THUS THE OUTLINES OF A
COMPROMISE ON MOST OF THE CONTENTIOUS ISSUES UNDER THIS
RUBRIC IS PRESENTLY IN SIGHT, THE OTHER MAJOR TOPIC AT
DISPUTE UNDER THIS HEADING (THE LISTING OF SPECIFIC PRINCIPLES)
CAN PROBABLY BE SETTLED ALONG LINES OF TACIT FRG-SOVIET
BARGAIN STRUCK IN BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS DURING THE MPT ROUND 3
AND
REPORTED IN DETAIL IN OUR EARLIER MESSAGES (IN ESSENCE, LISTING
OF FRONTIER INVIOABILITY AS A SEPARATE PRINCIPLE OF RELATIONS,
PROVIDED IT APPEARS IMMEDIATELY AFTER NON-USE OF FORCE, THEREBY
IMPLYING SOME LINKAGE BETWEEN THE TWO.)

2. SWEDISH TEXT ALSO HAD MERIT OF CLEARING AWAY THICKET OF
BRACKETED LANGUAGE AND ALTERNATIVE FORMULATIONS AND REPLACING
IT WITH SINGLE, SHORT AND CAREFULLY CONSTRUCTED TEXT THAT WILL
NOW BECOME BASIS OF FURTHER DISCUSSION. WE EXPECT THAT VARIOUS
PARTICIPANTS WITH SPECIAL CAUSES TO PLEAD -- E. G. ROMANIANS,
SPANISH AND THE NATO INTRASTATES (ITALY, NETHERLANDS) -- WILL
TRY TO CHIP AWAY AT ELEMENTS OF SWEDISH TEXT, AND THAT SOVIETS
WILL LATER INDULGE IN SOME THEATRICALS, FOR MOSCOW'S BENEFIT, ON
ORDER OF LISTING OF SPECIFIC PRINCIPLES (FRONTIER INVIOABILITY
SHOULD COME FIRST). PROSPECT NEVERTHELESS IS THAT THE
PACKAGE DEAL EMBODIED IN THE NEW SWEDISH TEXT, PLUS THAT
FORESHADOWED EARLIER IN THE PRIVATE FRG-SOVIET UNDERSTANDING ON
THE LIST OF PRINCIPLES, WILL GRADUALLY BECOME THE OBJECT OF
FORMAL MPT CONSENSUS OVER THE NEXT TWO WEEKS OR SO.

3. FREER MOVEMENT/ HUMAN CONTACTS. DRAFTING BEGAN ON THE
INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH TO THIS MANDATE, BASED ON COMPROMISE
AUSTRIAN TEXT. HOWEVER, WORKING GROUP DISCUSSIONS BECAME
MIREN IN DISPUTE OVER SOVIET INSISTENCE THAT COOPERATION IN
THIS AREA BE GOVERNED BY PRINCIPLES, RESTRICTIVE IN THEIR
IMPLICATIONS (SOVEREIGNTY, NON-INTERFERENCE, RESPECT FOR NATIONAL
LEGISLATION), WHICH MUST BE EXPLICITLY MENTIONED IN MANDATE
TEXT.

4. IN CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS, HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS HINTED A
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COMPROMISE, PROBABLY ULTIMATELY ACCEPTABLE TO MAJORITY OF
ALLIES, WHICH ENTAILS REFERENCE TO SOVEREIGNTY, BALANCED WITH
A REFERENCE TO PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE GERMANS, HOWEVER,
OBJECT TO AN EXPLICIT MENTION OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THIS CONTEXT.
EVEN THE SENSITIVITY OF THIS COMPLEX OF ISSUES IN THE INNER-

GERMANY RELATIONSHIP, WE AND THOSE OTHER ALLIES WHO FAVOR EFFORTS TO MOVE QUICKLY TOWARD AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE, REFRAINED FROM PRESSING THE MATTER, PENDING FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF THE GERMAN ATTITUDE WHICH WE HOPE TO OBTAIN EARLY NEXT WEEK.

6. MILITARY SECURITY ISSUES. IN MEETINGS AND CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS, SOVIET AMBASSOR MENDELEVICH HAS MOVED FURTHER TOWARD MAJORITY OF MPT PARTICIPANTS WHO WISH TO EXPAND THE MILITARY SECURITY CONTENT OF CSCE BEYOND THE TWO CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES WHICH WE SUPPORT. HE INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO EXPLORE NON- BINDING GENERAL REFERENCES IN THE MANDATE TO: (1) DESIRE OF THE PARTICIPANTS TO BE INFORMED BILATERALLY IN SOME APPROPRIATE WAY OF PROGRESS IN MBFR TALKS; (2) RECOGNITION OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY CHARACTER OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY; AND (3) RIGHT OF PARTICIPANTS TO ADDRESS OTHER RELEVANT ASPECTS OF MILITARY SECURITY AT CSCE ITSELF, WITHOUT COMMITTING ANYONE TO A PARTICULAR COURSE OF ACTION.
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